

**Footnotes**

**Chapter 1: The Answer to Minority Rule**

1. 'Strategy and Tactics of the African National Congress': adopted by the Third Consultative Conference of the African National Congress in April 1969 at Morogoro, Tanzania. The Conference was attended by over seventy delegates and included about a dozen delegates selected by the ANC Executive by virtue of their connection with the allied organization - South African Indian Congress, South African Congress of Trade Unions, Coloured People's Congress, and the South African Communist Party. Published in *Sechaba*, 3 July 1969.
2. Punt Jansen, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, quoted in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 August 1973.
3. *The Times*, 8 October 1974.
4. Karel Roskam, *Inter-Racial Relationships in the Union of South Africa*, Leiden, p. 111.
5. House of Assembly speech, quoted in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 August 1974.
6. House of Assembly speech quoted in Roskam, op. cit., p. 94.
7. H. J. May, *The South African Constitution*, Allen and Unwin, 1955, p. 153.
8. 'Strategy and Tactics', (ANC), op. cit.
9. Report to a Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, *African Communist*, 1st Quarter 1974, p. 32.
10. 'Strategy and Tactics', (ANC), op. cit.
11. Quoted by Harold J. Laski, 6th Roy Calvert Memorial Lecture, 1940.
12. *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 August 1974.

**Chapter 2: The Theory of the South African Revolution**

1. V. I. Lenin, 'A Retrograde Trend in Russian-Social Democracy', *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Lawrence and Wishart, p. 280.
2. *Financial Mail*, 6 September 1974, p.901 (quoting Mike McGrath in a paper presented to a Durban economics conference).
3. *Survey of Race Relations*; South African Institute of Race Relations, (SAIRR), 1974, p.52.
4. 'Fact Paper', SAIRR, 14 February 1972.
5. *Survey of Race Relations*, SAIRR, 1974, pp. 210-11.
6. T. M. Molathlwa, *South African Institute of Internal Affairs*, December 1974, pp. 11-12.
7. Karl Marx, *The German Ideology*, Part One, Lawrence and Wishart, 1970, p. 82.

8. H.J. Simons, 'What is Apartheid?', *Liberation*, No. 36, 1959 and 'Concepts of Apartheid', *Liberation*, No. 39, 1959.
9. 'Strategy and Tactics', (ANC), op. cit.
10. 'Strategy and Tactics', (ANC), op. cit.
11. *The African Communist*, 1st Quarter 1963, pp. 24-70.
12. Quoted in Oliver Walker, *Kaffirs Are Lively*, Victor Gollancz, 1948, p. 22.
13. A. Zanzolo, 'The Theory of the South African Revolution', *African Communist*, 1st Quarter, 1963, p. 22.
14. Published by A.N.C. External Mission.
15. *ibid.*
16. V.I.Lenin, 'What Is To Be Done?', *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, Lawrence and Wishart, p. 384.

### **Chapter 3: The Resistance**

1. Quoted in Edward Roux, *Time Longer Than Rope*, University of Wisconsin Press. 1966, p. 40.
2. *ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
3. Monica Wilson and Leonard Monteath Thompson (eds), *Oxford History of South Africa*, Vol. 1, Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 347.
4. Cornelius W. De Kiewiet, *Imperial Factor in South Africa*, Frank Cass, 1965, p. 220.
5. Donald R. Morris, *The Washing of the Spears*, Sphere 1969, p. 283.
- 6; H.J. and R\_E. Simons, *Class and Colour 1-71 South Africa 1850-1950*, Penguin, 1969, p. 123.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 290.
8. Zanzolo, op. cit., p. 21.
9. A detailed description of these events and their significance is contained in Govan Mbeki, *South Africa, The Peasants' Revolt*, Penguin, 1964.
10. 'Strategy and Tactics', (ANC). op. cit.
11. A. Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, Inkululeko Publications, 1971, p.96.
12. Report of Joint Planning Council, quoted in Edward Feit, *South Africa, The Dynamics of the African National Congress*, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 27. 13. Report to SACP Plenary Session of Central Committee, *African Communist*, 3rd Quarter 1968, pp. 9-10.
14. 'Strategy and Tactics', (ANC), op. cit.
15. *Contact*, 1 November 1958.
16. 'Frelimo Faces the Future': Interview, *African Communist*, 4<sup>th</sup> Quarter 1973, p. 51.

### **Chapter 4: Perspectives of Armed Struggle**

1. Clausewitz, *On War*, Pelican Edition, 1968, p. 223.
2. V. 1. Lenin, 'Lessons of the Moscow Uprising', in William J. Pomeroy (ed.), *Guerrilla Warfare and Marxism*, Lawrence and Wishart, 1969, p. 79.

3. Bashir Hadj Ali, in Pomeroy, op. cit., p. 259.
4. V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, Lawrence and Wishart, p. 85.
5. V. I. Lenin, 'Address to Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East', *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, Lawrence and Wishart, p.162.
6. Sheridan Johns, 'Obstacles to Guerrilla Warfare - a South African case study', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, No.2, 1973, p.272.
7. Nelson Mandela, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, Heinemann, 1965, p. 171.
8. Amilcar Cabral, *Portuguese Colonies, Victory or Death*, Tricontinental, April 1971, pp. 143-4.
9. Basil Davidson, *In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People*, Allen Lane, 1972, Penguin, 1975, pp. 233-6.
10. *African Communist*, 2nd .Quarter 1963, p. 6.
11. V. I. Lenin, 'Guerrilla Warfare', *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, Lawrence and Wishart, p. 220.
12. Vo Nguyen Giap, in Pomeroy, op. cit., p. 205.
13. Central Committee of the SACP, *African Communist*. 4<sup>th</sup> Quarter 1971, p. 29.
14. *The Memoirs of General Grivas*, Longman, 1964, p. 22.
15. *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 March, 1975.
16. Leo Kuper, 'Non-Violence Revisited', in Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui, *Protest and Power in Black Africa*, Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 797.
17. Fatima Meer, 'African Nationalism - Some Inhibiting Factors', *South African Sociological Perspectives*, pp. 121-57.
18. Herbert Adam, *Modernizing Racial Domination: The Dynamic of South African Politics*, University of California Press, 1971, p. 116.
19. J. Bowyer Bell, *The Myth of the Guerrilla: Revolutionary Theory and Malpractice*, New York, 1971; and 'The Future of Guerrilla Revolution in Southern Africa', *Africa Today*, Winter 1972. Also Lewis H. Gann, 'No Hope for Violent Revolution: A Strategic Assessment', *Africa Report*, 17 February 1972.
20. Johns, op. cit., pp. 296-7. Johns' is perhaps the most informative discussion of the period in question.
21. Declaration of ANC Executive Committee, 17-20 March 1975.
22. *Sechaba*, September 1973, p. 19.
23. F. Engels, 'Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of German Classical Philosophy', Chapter 4, in Marx/Engels, *Selected Works* (3 volume edition), Progress Publishers, Vol. 3, p. 363.